

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ERDA-05 /031 R

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----- 068129

O P 100015Z APR 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

S E C R E T STATE 081481

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y: OMISSION LINE 1 PARA 1

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1, 3

TAGS: PARM, UR

SUBJECT: NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS' CONFERENCE

1. PLEASE ADVISE MFA (MOROKHOV AND/OR TIMERBAEV, IF AVAILABLE) AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF STATUS OF US CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER KEY NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS AND USG INTEREST IN EARLY EXPLORATORY MULTILATERAL MEETING, ALONG LINES INDICATED IN PARAS 2 TO 12.

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2. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN CON-

SULTATIONS WITH ALL THE KEY SUPPLIERS REGARDING THE ILLUS-  
TRATIVE COMMON EXPORT POLICIES IN OUR AIDE MEMOIRE AND RE-  
GARDING THE US PROPOSAL FOR A SUPPLIERS CONFERENCE. ALL OF  
THEM, INCLUDING FRANCE, HAVE NOW RESPONDED THAT THEY ARE  
POSITIVELY DISPOSED TO A CONFERENCE. INITIAL REACTIONS OF  
THE COUNTRIES WE HAVE APPROACHED OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS  
FOLLOW.

3. OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UK AND FRG HAVE BEEN FAIRLY  
GENERAL IN NATURE, BUT THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT COM-  
MON EXPORT POLICIES AMONG THE KEY SUPPLIERS IN THE AREAS  
IDENTIFIED IN THE US PROPOSAL ARE URGENTLY NEEDED.

4. THE CANADIANS ARE VERY ANXIOUS FOR PROGRESS ON EXPORT  
POLICY COORDINATION. THEY ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN  
CONTROLLING THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGY AND ARE PREPARING A  
MODEL TRILATERAL (SUPPLIER/RECIPIENT/IAEA) SAFEGUARDS  
AGREEMENT FOR POSSIBLE CONSIDERATION AT THE SUPPLIERS  
SECRET/EXDIS  
MEETING.

5. JAPAN HAS AGREED TO ATTEND THE SUPPLIERS MEETING BUT  
HAS NOT YET OFFERED SUBSTANTIVE REACTIONS TO THE US  
PROPOSALS.

6. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH FRANCE  
VIEWS THE NEED FOR COMMON POLICIES. IT HAS PROVIDED  
VIEWS ON PROPOSALS ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS. ON S'BSTANCE  
OF US FIVE POINTS, FRENCH HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH POINTS ONE,  
TWO AND FOUR. ON POINT TWO, FRENCH WOULD LIKE TO SEE  
SOME FLEXIBILITY TO PERMIT BILATERAL SAFEGUARDS IN  
EXCEPTIONAL CASES. ON POINT THREE, FRENCH HAVE DIFFICULTY  
WITH US SUGGESTED CONSTRAINTS; FRENCH SUGGESTED, AS  
ALTERNATIVE, SAFEGUARDS ON BOTH SUPPLIED EQUIPMENT AND  
TECHNOLOGY, AND FACILITIES REPLICATED FROM THAT TECHNOLOGY;  
THEY INDICATED SOME INTEREST IN MULTINATIONAL APPROACH.  
ON POINT FIVE, FRENCH BELIEVE AGREEMENT ON SPECIAL CON-  
STRAINTS ON EXPORTS TO SENSITIVE AREAS SHOULD BE HANDLED  
BILATERALLY WITH OTHER CONCERNED SUPPLIERS, AT DISCRETION  
OF EACH SUPPLIER.

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7. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS WE HAVE CONCLUDED  
THAT THERE IS A GENERAL DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE COUN-  
TRIES CONCERNED TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD COMMON  
UNDERSTANDINGS AMONG THE KEY SUPPLIERS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.  
WE CONSEQUENTLY BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE REACHED A STAGE IN  
OUR CONSULTATIONS WHERE WE SHOULD TAKE THE NEXT STEP  
TOWARD SUBSTANTIVE AND MULTILATERAL EXCHANGES OF VIEWS,

AND WE ARE PREPARED TO JOIN AN EXPLORATORY MULTILATERAL MEETING IN LONDON BEFORE THE END OF THIS MONTH. IN OUR VIEW, THE OBJECTIVE OF THE EXPLORATORY MEETING WOULD BE TO CLARIFY EXISTING AREAS OF CONSENSUS, IDENTIFY AREAS REMAINING TO BE DISCUSSED AND CONSIDER SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS TO ACHIEVE THAT PURPOSE.

8. FRANCE HAS AGREED TO ATTEND SUCH AN EXPLORATORY MEETING, BUT HAS ASKED FOR AND IS RECEIVING CONFIRMATION OF THE US VIEW THAT (A) OUR MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL AND INFORMAL IN CHARACTER, (B) EVENTUAL DECISIONS WILL BE BY COMMON AGREEMENT AND COULD PROVIDE FOR EXCEPTIONS TO OR RELEASE FROM AGREEMENTS MADE, AND (C) WE DO NOT CONTEMPLATE BUILDING A STANDING INSTITUTION TO ENFORCE CONFERENCE DECISIONS. WE WISH TO STRESS, IN PARTICULAR, OUR SENSE OF THE FRENCH CONCERN THAT PARTICIPANTS WHICH ARE NOT PARTY TO THE NPT WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF UNDUE PRESSURE. WE THEREFORE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION OF NPT ADHERENCE OF SUPPLIERS SHOULD NOT BECOME AN ISSUE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS.

9. WE ARE ALSO TELLING THE FRENCH THAT WHILE WE WILL TAKE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT THEIR POSITION THAT THE COMMITMENTS THEY ARE PREPARED TO MAKE AT AN EVENTUAL CONFERENCE (PARA 6) REPRESENT THE LIMIT OF THEIR POSSIBILITIES, WE AND THE OTHER FIVE SUPPLIERS WILL WISH TO HAVE OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS CONSIDERED BY ALL SEVEN PARTICIPANTS, AND THAT IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION REMAIN TO BE DISCUSSED ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS. WE CANNOT COMMIT OTHER PARTICIPANTS TO AGREE WITH FRENCH POSITIONS, BUT WILL SUPPORT THEIR VIEW THAT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED BY COMMON ACCORD.

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10. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO HOST AN EXPLORATORY MEETING IN LONDON ON APRIL 23, THAT IS IMMEDIATELY AFTER WE WILL BE DISCUSSING PREPARATIONS FOR THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE IN LONDON, AND IT WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS DIRECTLY REGARDING SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS. BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED AMOUNT OF TIME AVAILABLE FOR AN EXPLORATORY MEETING BEFORE THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE REACTION TO THIS SUGGESTION. US WOULD ENVISAGE TWO PEOPLE AT THE TABLE, WITH OTHER ADVISERS AS REQUIRED, REPRESENTING EACH PARTICIPATING SUPPLIER. AN OFFICIAL AT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL WOULD HEAD OUR TEAM.

11. IN DISCUSSION OF THIS APPROACH WITH THE SOVIETS, YOU MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AS

APPROPRIATE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE SUPPLIERS NOW HAVE A STRONG BASIS FOR PRODUCTIVE CONSULTATIONS ABOUT THE STATUS OF EFFORTS TO COORDINATE NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES. FURTHERMORE, WE BELIEVE THAT LAUNCHING EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL ACTION THIS MONTH IS RELEVANT TO SUPPLIERS' CONSIDERATION OF APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS AND CONDITIONS FOR PENDING NUCLEAR EXPORT CASES. FINALLY, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO HOLD A FULL-DLEDGED SUPPLIERS CONFERENCE UNTIL JUNE OR JULY, WE BELIEVE THAT AN INITIAL MEETING THIS MONTH WILL HELP PAVE THE WAY FOR EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL COORDINATION OF POLICIES AT A LATER STAGE.

12. YOU MAY MAKE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS AS APPROPRIATE. (A) WE BELIEVE THE PHASING OF OUR APPROACH -- FIRST, TO EXPLORE MULTILATERALLY THE VIEWS OF ALL SUPPLIERS (INCLUDING THOSE OF FRANCE), AND THEN TO EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF AN EVENTUAL CONFERENCE -- IS MOST LIKELY TO ACCOMPLISH OUR OBJECTIVE OF EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL COORDINATION OF NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES. (B) AN EXPLORATORY MEETING WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE WILL EFFICIENTLY CONVEY TO ALL KEY SUPPLIERS THE DEGREE OF EXISTING CONSENSUS AND THE POLICY AREAS MOST AMENABLE TO EARLY NEGOTIATION AND AGREEMENT. (C) ONE DESIRABLE RESULT OF THE APRIL MEETING WOULD BE TO AGREE ON FURTHER PREPARATIONS TOWARD REACHING COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS INCLUDING A CONFERENCE IN JUNE OR JULY. FYI. IF FRANCE

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CHOSES NOT TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE (WHILE ATTENDING THE APRIL MEETING) WE BELIEVE IT WILL BE AMENABLE TO ALTERNATIVE MODALITIES FOR EFFECTIVELY HARMONIZING NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES. IF WE ARE UNABLE IN THE END TO HOLD THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE, WE WOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS AND ATTEMPT TO REACH COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS ON A BILATERAL OR A SMALL GROUP BASIS. HOWEVER, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE PREFERABLE COURSE REMAINS A MULTILATERAL CONFERENCE. END FYI.

13. IF SOVIETS RAISE AGAIN QUESTION OF GDR PARTICIPATION, YOU SHOULD REITERATE US POSITION THAT THE MEETINGS BE LIMITED TO MAJOR EXPORTERS OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. IF PRESSED FOR POSITIVE RESPONSE, YOU SHOULD EXPRESS PERSONAL VIEW THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF CONSULTATIONS AND COORDINATION WITH SUCH SMALLER SUPPLIERS OUTSIDE OF PROPOSED CONFERENCE, AND THAT REOPENING PARTICIPATION ISSUES AT THIS LATE STAGE WOULD BE LIKELY TO RESULT IN STRONG PRESSURES FOR ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS. FYI. UK AND FRG HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED DUTCH PARTICIPATION, THEY ARE AWARE OF SOVIET SUPPORT OF GDR PARTICIPATION, AND THEY HAVE AGREED TO

LIMIT PARTICIPATION AT LEAST IN APRIL. IN ADDITION,  
FRANCE HAS MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF ITALIAN AND SPANISH  
PRESSURE TO ATTEND IF PARTICIPATION QUESTION SHOULD BE  
REOPENED. END FYI.

14. FOR ALL INFO ADDRESSEES: SIMILAR APPROACH IS BEING  
MADE BY DEPARTMENT TO OTHER SUPPLIERS. PLEASE TREAT  
ABOVE AS FYI. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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